

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0180

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: STRULAK PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 17, 1974

SUMMARY: IN HIS END-OF-THE-ROUND CONFERENCE, ATTENDED BY ABOUT 25 MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES, POLISH REP STRULAK SPEAKING FOR WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES READ PREPARED STATEMENT WHICH UNDERLINED EASTERN ADHERENCE TO BASIC POSITIONS. IT CONTAINED STANDARD ARGUMENT ABOUT WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO GAIN "UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES" AT TALKS AND REITERATED WARSAW PACT VIEW OF IMPORTANCE OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REDUCING FROM THE START. STRULAK CHARGED THAT "RECIPROCAL OBLIGATIONS" FOR MOVING AHEAD WERE NOT FORTHCOMING FROM WEST, AND SAW IN UNCLASSIFIED

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THIS MOST SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO MOVING NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD.

STATEMENT ALSO SAID THE EASTERN CONCEPT OF FIRST MUTUALLY
ACCEPTABLE STEP, "HOWEVER SMALL", WOULD HAVE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE,
AND THAT IN THIS RESPECT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWN
"GOOD WILL AND CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF FLEXIBILITY."
TEXT OF STATEMENT FOLLOWS. END SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT OF STRULAK PRESS STATEMENT:

1. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AS YOU KNOW, THE LAST PLENARY
MEETING OF THE THIRD ROUND OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS HAS
BEEN HELD AND HERE I MEET YOU AGAIN TO GIVE YOUR OUR VIEW
OF THE STATE OF AFFAIRS.

2. SHOULD YOU ASK ME ABOUT THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, MY ANSWER WOULD BE THAT IT IS THE SAME
BASIC POSITION THAT WAS PRESENTED ON 8 NOVEMBER 1973
IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED
FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, SPONSORED BY THE DELEGATIONS OF
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE SOVIET
UNION AND POLAND. INDEED, THE INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS
THAT WE HAVE HAD DURING THIS ROUND HAVE AGAIN PROVED THE
EQUITY AS WELL AS THE VIABILITY OF THE DRAFT AND OF
THE APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL
EUROPE ON WHICH IT IS BASED.

3. AS YOU ARE WELL FAMILIAR WITH THE PROPOSALS OF THE
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES I DO NOT INTEND TO ELABORATE ON THEM
AT LENGTH. HOWEVER, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT
SITUATION I WISH TO RECALL SOME OF THEIR PRINCIPAL
CHARACTERISTICS.

4. PROCEEDING FROM THE EXISTING STABLE RELATIONSHIP IN
CENTRAL EUROPE THIS DRAFT PROVIDES FOR A METHOD OF MUTUAL,
EQUITABLE AND SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES AND
ARMAMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY ALL 11 STATES WHOSE STATUS
OF POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE FUTURE REDUCTION AGREEMENTS
WAS SO JOINTLY DEFINED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE
PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS OF 28 JUNE 1973,
MORE THAN A YEAR AGO. THE EQUAL CHARACTER OF THE
OBLIGATIONS TO REDUCE ON THE PART OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS
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AS WELL AS THE EXTENT, TERMS AND TIMING OF THE REDUCTION
EXPECTED OF EACH OF THEM ARE SPECIFIED IN THE DRAFT FOR THE
THREE-YEAR PERIOD 1975-1977. THIS ALLOWS EACH DIRECT
PARTICIPANT TO HAVE FULL ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE OF THE END RESULT
OF THE WHOLE EXERCISE AS WELL AS OF THE REDUCTION STEPS TO
BE TAKEN BY ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS. IT GIVES EVERY STATE
THE ASSURANCE THAT REDUCTIONS ARE NOT TAKING PLACE TO ITS
DETIMENT OR TO THE DETRIMENT

OF ANY OTHER PARTICIPATING STATE. THERE IS HARDLY A BETTER WAY TO PROMOTE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE THROUGH THE REDUCTION PROCESS IN THE AREA SO SENSITIVE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INTERNAL SECURITY.

5. PARTICIPATION IN THE REDUCTION OF ALL STATES HAVING TERRITORY AND/OR ARMED FORCES IN THE AGREED AREA OF 7 COUNTRIES AS WELL AS INCLUSION INTO REDUCTION OF ALL PRINCIPAL KINDS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, I.E. GROUND AS WELL AS AIR FORCES AND THOSE EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, FURTHER MAKES FOR THE MEANINGFULNESS AND EQUITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES REDUCTION PROGRAMME. IT WOULD PREVENT ANY MAJOR LOOPHOLES IN THE REDUCTION AGREEMENT AND WORK AGAINST A POSSIBLE ARMAMENTS RACE IN THE AREA.

6. WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE 4-POWER DRAFT CONTINUES TO BE THE MOST EQUITABLE BASIS FOR A REDUCTION AGREEMENT WHICH, TAKING DUE ACCOUNT OF THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ALL THE PARTIES, WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL. HOWEVER, WE STILL HAVE TO UPHOLD THIS DRAFT AS AGAINST A VERY DIFFERENT WESTERN APPROACH. THE WESTERN SIDE PURSUES THE AIM OF ALTERING, THROUGH UNEQUITABLE REDUCTION, THE EXISTING STABLE CORRELATION OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO THE DETRIMENT OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. I HAVE IN MIND THE APPROACH REFLECTED IN THE WESTERN OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS WHICH IS ALSO WELL KNOWN TO YOU.

7. THE EQUITABLE PROVISIONS OF THE SOCIALIST DRAFT, WHICH I HAVE JUST REFERRED TO, ARE CHARACTERISTICALLY MISSING FROM THESE PROPOSALS. THE SELECTIVE AND DISPROPORTATE METHOD OF REDUCTION THAT THEY PROVIDE FOR IS SUBORDINATED TO THE GOAL OF UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES. AIR FORCE AND NUCLEAR WEAPON SYSTEMS ARE DELIBERATELY OMITTED.

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UNEQUAL OBLIGATIONS ARE PROPOSED. ONLY TWO STATES - THE USSR AND THE USA, ARE ASKED TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES WHILE THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, NOTABLY THOSE ON THE WESTERN SIDE WHOSE FORCES REPRESENT THE BULK OF THE NATO POTENTIAL IN CENTRAL EUROPE, ARE BEING EXEMPTED FROM ANY CONCRETE REDUCTION OBLIGATION. A NUMBER OF PRECONDITIONS IS PUT FORWARD FOR THE WHOLE WESTERN REDUCTION SCHEME AND PARTICULARLY FOR ITS SECOND PHASE WHEN THE REDUCTION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES WOULD BE DISCUSSED.

8. I HAVE ALREADY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY DURING THIS ROUND TO EXPLAIN TO YOU THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THIS LAST QUESTION - OF SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, HAS FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

9. YOU KNOW THAT ALL 4 SOCIALIST COUNTRIES - SPONSORS
OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT HAVE IN ALL SINCERITY DECLARED THE
READINESS TO START REDUCING THEIR FORCES AS EARLY AS IN 1975.
NATURALLY THEY WOULD DO SO ON THE BASIS OF MUTUALITY, AS
THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO RESULT IN MUTUAL REDUCTIONS.

10. HOWEVER, THE EXPECTED RECIPROCITY OF OBLIGATIONS IS
NOT FORTHCOMING. AS YOU KNOW, THE 6 WESTERN STATES -
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, OTHER THAN THE UNITED STATES - DO NOT
PROPOSE TO TAKE CONCRETE OBLIGATION TO REDUCE FROM THE VERY
BEGINNING, TOGETHER WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THE USA.
IN OUR VIEW, SUCH AN ATTITUDE OF RELUCTANCE REMAINS A MOST
SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO MOVING THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD.

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ACTION ACDA-19

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

11. ALL THAT I HAVE SAID ABOVE DOES NOT CONVEY APITCTURE

OF EASY NEGOTIATIONS OR A BIG ACHIEVEMENT. HAVING FOR SOME TIME FOLLOWED THEM, YOU YOURSELVES KNOWN THAT THERE ARE VERY SERIOUS DIFFERENCES AND DIFFICULTIES. IT TAKES A MUTUAL EFFORT AND MUTUAL GOOD WILL TO OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES, TO START ELIMINATING THEM AT SOME POINT AND SEARCHING FOR A WAY TO AN AGREEMENT, AT LEAST AN INITIAL ONE.

12. A FIRST MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONCRETE SOLUTION, HOWEVER SMALL, WOULD HAVE THAT GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF SOMETHING REALLY ACHIEVED, OF THE GREAT PROCESS HAVING BEEN MOVED, BE IT IN A SMALL WAY. I MAY TELL YOU THAT PROMPTED BY THE DESIRE TO MAKE SUCH AN EARLY MOVE THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWN THE GOOD WILL AND CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF UNCLASSIFIED

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FLEXIBILITY AT THIS ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS.

13. WE HAVE NOT SO FAR SUCCEEDED. IT IS TRUE AND IT IS TO BE REGRETTED THAT THE PROCESS HAS FAILED US. BUT OUR DELEGATIONS ARE NOT DISCOURAGED. THE DISCUSSION, AS I HAVE EARLIER SAID, HAS BEEN INTENSIVE AND DETAILED. IT HAS CERTAINLY HELPED TO FURTHER CLARIFY AND BETTER UNDERSTAND THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TALKS HAS REMAINED BUSINESSLIKE AND FRIENDLY, A GENUINE FACTOR ACCLAIMED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS AND EMANATING BEYOND VIENNA.

14. ALL THIS MAKES US LOOK FORWARD TO THE AUTUMN ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. WE HOPE THAT A SOBER ANALYSIS OF THE HITHERTO HELD DISCUSSIONS WILL HELP OUR WESTERN PARTNERS TO TAKE A REALISTIC STAND AND ALL OF US TO REACH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

15. AS EMPHASIZED AT THE SPRING MEETING OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES, OUR GOVERNMENTS BELIEVED AND CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THE VIEW THAT THERE EXISTS A FULL POSSIBILITY TO REACH IT IF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS IS UPHELD BY BOTH SIDES AND NO ONE SEEKS UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES IN THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION. THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE.

16. WE ALSO CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT AN AGREEMENT IN VIENNA WILL BE A CONSIDERABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF POLITICAL DETENTE. TO BECOME IRREVERSIBLE, THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL DETENTE MUST BE SUPPLEMENTED WITH MILITARY DETENTE. THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE AN IMPORTANT TEST-GROUND IN THIS REGARD. THEY OFFER PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS AS THEY TAKE PLACE AT THE TIME WHEN THE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND THE WILL FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS PREVAILS ON THE EUROPEAN

CONTINENT, HOWEVER DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED THE PROBLEMS UNDER
DEBATE MAY BE.

17. DESPITE THESE DIFFICULTIES THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
HOLD THE VISION OF TRUE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION.
PURSUING THIS VISION THEY SUGGEST REALISTIC WAYS AND MEANS
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TO ACHIEVE IT.

18. HERE, IN VIENNA, WE LOOK FOR PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO
THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS
IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO MAKE THE WHOLE OF EUROPE SECURE, FREE OF
THE DANGERS OF WAR.

19. NO COUNTRY CAN DESIRE IT MORE THAN PEOPLE'S POLAND
CELEBRATING IN A FEW DAYS THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF
REBIRTH FROM SUFFERINGS AND DEVASTATIONS OF WAR.

END TEXT OF STRULAK PRESS STATEMENT.RESOR

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